

# Saskatchewan HISTORY

★ The  
Medical Profession  
In the North-West  
Territories.

BY

HILDA NEATBY

★ Book Reviews.

BY

G. F. G. STANLEY

AND

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# Saskatchewan History

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## The Medical Profession in the North-West Territories<sup>1</sup>

**I**N recent years the romantic aspects of the medical profession have been so thoroughly exploited by journalists, novelists, and Hollywood, that the mere historian can hardly fail to be dull. In order to be really dull, this article will ignore the thrilling and curious aspects of the doctor's life in territorial days, and devote itself to a theme which, with no appeal for Hollywood, has yet profound and permanent significance for one who too often is reduced to a merely symbolic role in medical drama, the patient. The development of public organization and control of the medical profession in the Territories is an interesting local phase of an old and widespread practice in the western world. Formerly guilds and similar organizations exercised rather rigid controls over all trades and callings. After a brief trial of the *laissez faire* method, public control was resumed, this time by national governments, which today are expected to protect the anxious customer to the last thread. In the learned professions, where the scientist is also an artist, and therefore prone to excessive individualism, public control can be most usefully exercised through the members themselves. The early relations between government and the doctors in the Territories, the increasing need for some organization and control of the profession, and the resulting organization and activities of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the North-West Territories, may be without romantic glamour, but are certainly not without interest, human and professional.

Early doctors came out to the Territories in various capacities, and followed a wide variety of callings. The earliest came as medical officers of the North-West Mounted Police. Dr. A. L. Jukes, who arrived in 1880, was the son of an East India Company surgeon and became a prominent early citizen of Regina. He was one of a group of hard-working men who not only did much for the health and comfort of the police, but apparently attended the general public, Indians and whites alike, when necessary.<sup>2</sup> Other doctors came with the Canadian Pacific or other railway construction gangs,<sup>3</sup> or as farmers or ranchers.<sup>4</sup> Dr. A. E. Porter, the first registered physician in the Territories apart from police doctors, went to Prince Albert as a private practitioner in response to the persuasions of Charles Mair, and the offer of a \$2000 bonus—which remained an offer only.<sup>5</sup> There were,

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted to Dr. W. Bramley-Moore, Registrar of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Alberta, for the use of two valuable sources: the Medical Register and the Minute Book of the Council of the Territorial College of Physicians and Surgeons, both now in the custody of the Alberta College; and to Dr. G. G. Ferguson, Registrar of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan, and to Dr. J. A. Valens for making available Dr. Valens' collection of letters and notes on early doctors in Saskatchewan. Other sources used in preparing this article are in the Saskatchewan Archives at Saskatoon or in the Archives Division of the Legislative Library, Regina.

<sup>2</sup> Valens File, Early Doctors, pp. 49-54; Reports of North-West Mounted Police, Appendices by Medical Officers, in Canada, *Sessional Papers*; Jukes to Lt. Gov. E. Dewdney, June 16, 1886, Lieutenant Governor's Office, N.W.T., File relating to registration of medical practitioners (hereafter cited as L.G.O.).

<sup>3</sup> Valens File, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15-16, 55; H. J. Clarke to Dewdney, May 4, 1886, L.G.O., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Valens File, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11-12, 28-31.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

however, various official appointments to supplement meagre professional earnings, such as hospital and jail appointments and appointments of Indian Reserves.<sup>6</sup>

Whatever might have brought them in the first place, early doctors, like other pioneers, learned to turn their hands to anything. Dr. J. D. Lafferty, later Registrar of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, started a chain of private banks which appear to have suffered the usual fate of private banks in frontier districts. Dr. Jukes was the first Registrar of Land Titles in Regina and had some share in securing appropriation legislation on the subject.<sup>7</sup> Dr. R. G. Brett was second lieutenant governor of Alberta, and the municipal and political activities of doctors in territorial days are well known. An exciting incident was the special enlistment of local doctors in the rebellion of 1885.<sup>8</sup>

A public activity more strictly professional in its nature was service as coroner. It is worth while to give a little space to the problems of the pioneer doctor as coroner, for there is probably no better illustration of the empiric method necessarily employed in setting up a rather advanced system of administration in an extremely primitive community. The problem was complicated by those early conflicts of jurisdiction which foreshadowed the later highly capitalized problem of Dominion-Provincial relations.

At first there was some hesitation about the policy to be pursued in the appointment of coroners. It was, of course, necessary to appoint many coroners who were not medical men, but was it desirable that the coroner should be a doctor? In August 1886 the Lieutenant Governor informed a would-be coroner (a superintendent of the Mounted Police at Lethbridge) that coroners' appointments were to be confined in future to members of the medical profession; but in January 1888 Dr. C. E. Carthew of Qu'Appelle Station was informed that ". . . you are in error in supposing that Doctors are considered specially qualified for the appointment of Coroners as it is rather the other way."<sup>9</sup> Dewdney's later opinion is echoed in a letter of the Attorney-General of Saskatchewan as late as 1920, in which it is pointed out that the appointment of a doctor as coroner might, in districts where medical men were scarce, prevent the admission of medical evidence at the trial, since the coroner, as judge, could not offer evidence.<sup>10</sup>

A coroner once anticipated the lieutenant governor by appointing himself. In July of 1883 return of an inquest was sent in by Dr. Henry Dodd of Broadview. Forget, Clerk of the Council, replied that his zeal and efficiency were appreciated, but that coroners could not be self-appointed. Dodd answered with an apology and, implying that thanks to his experience as police surgeon at Newcastle-on-Tyne he would make a very good coroner, suggested that the lieutenant governor

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15; H. J. Clarke to Lieutenant Governor, May 25, 1886, L.G.O., p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Attorney General's Department, N.W.T., G Series (hereafter cited as A.G.), 62 L, 95 L, 110 L, 114 L.

<sup>8</sup> A.G., 251 L.

<sup>9</sup> A. E. Forget (Clerk of Council) to Supt. P. R. Neale, Aug. 20, 1886, Territorial Secretary's Department, File 25/4 "Coroners"; Forget to Carthew, January 28, 1888, L.G.O., p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> W. F. A. Turgeon Papers, Box 40, pp. 332-3.

regularize his position in the obvious way. This was eventually done.<sup>11</sup> Coroners' fees ran to about \$10 a case; the post mortem fee was also \$10,<sup>12</sup> but the coroner presumably could not perform the post mortem. However, even a small sum in cash was probably very welcome.

A curious incident arising from inexperienced coroners and a divided jurisdiction occurred at Edmonton in 1899. A young man who died of strychnine poisoning stated before his death that he and his fiancee had arranged a double suicide. The coroner for some reason decided that an inquest was unnecessary. Later it appeared that there were strong grounds for suspecting that the young man had murdered his fiancee before committing suicide. The matter was the more serious as the girl, who was a Roman Catholic, had been buried in unconsecrated ground. The coroner, a doctor, wired the Minister of Justice for instructions and was told that he was under territorial jurisdiction; he then wired Haultain, and was told that inquests were a purely federal matter. The sequel was a very brisk exchange of letters between Haultain and the Minister of Justice, Haultain insisting that inquests were a criminal matter and therefore under the Dominion, his opponent arguing that as it was the Territorial Government which "hired and fired" them, that government should issue instructions. The records suggest that Haultain won the debate, a fact which probably did nothing to increase his popularity at Ottawa.<sup>13</sup>

During the 1880's and 1890's doctors were coming in in slowly increasing numbers and were playing an important role professionally and in various aspects of community life. The very reputation that they built up emphasized, to the public and to the members of the profession, the necessity of some sort of public control, and particularly of a public registration to maintain adequate professional standards. The legislature attempted to meet this need by legislation in 1885.<sup>14</sup> Thereafter the right to practice for money was confined to four classes of people: (1) those at that time residing in the Territories and possessing a medical degree from any university or other duly authorized body in His Majesty's Dominions; (2) those British subjects at that time residing in the Territories who had been in actual practice for one year and who possessed a medical degree in the United States, granted according to law, and representing at least two years' institutional study; (3) those at that time residing in the Territories who had practised there for at least a year and who within a year should pass an examination before two medical practitioners on scientific and medical subjects as laid down in the ordinance; (4) future residents of the Territories, possessing a British medical degree as in (1). Registration was made compulsory for all practitioners. The first two classes (those duly qualified and in actual practice) could register by presenting evidence of the required qualifications and paying a fee of five dollars; those in the third class (in actual practice, but required to take an examination) were to pay a fee of twenty-five dollars; the others (those who might in future

<sup>11</sup> A.G., 82 L; Proclamations and Orders of the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, 173, June 24, 1884.

<sup>12</sup> Asst. Territorial Secretary to J. W. Jackson, October 8, 1898, Territorial Secretary's Department, *loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> A.G., 994.

<sup>14</sup> *Ordinances of the North-West Territories*, 1885, No. 11.

reside and practice) must pay a fee of fifty dollars. For illegal practice fines up to one hundred dollars might be imposed.

The ordinance required registration by March 1, 1886, but it would seem that this was a pious hope, rather than rigid requirement. By March 1, two doctors only had registered<sup>15</sup> and those who had refrained seem to have experienced no ill effects. However, applications for registration did come trickling in, accompanied by the five dollar fee, and the necessary diplomas from various universities, including a number from the University of Toronto. By the end of 1886 twenty-two had registered, but these certainly did not include all qualified practitioners in the Territories. Applications for registration with the five dollar fee—indicating practice in the Territories in 1885—continued to come in until the end of 1888, although there is evidence that at least some of those who registered as late as 1888 were required to produce special evidence of the duration of their residence and practice in order to avoid the fifty dollar fee exacted from newcomers.<sup>16</sup> One doctor, who had urged that the ordinance be strict and definite, registered as late as December 7, 1888, and then sent an instalment of two dollars on his five dollar fee—indicating, perhaps, that he was more to be pitied than blamed.<sup>17</sup>

Although properly qualified doctors might procrastinate over the duty of registration, many of them probably supported the principle, not only in the public interest, but as a necessary protection for their financial interests and professional pride. Legislation should “exact proper medical education and such other qualifications as will ensure properly qualified medical men in meeting their expenses on an equal footing,” wrote Dr. J. D. Lafferty to the Lieutenant Governor. He stated that many now practicing were “utterly unfitted” for such an office; he cited an example in Calgary, a former veterinary surgeon of the North-West Mounted Police, adding firmly, “I should not like to be placed on the same footing with such persons.”<sup>18</sup> At least where professional interests were at stake, doctors reported unlicensed practitioners. A rather prominent Edmonton doctor wrote the Lieutenant Governor in April 1886, inquiring whether a certain man was registered: “He is at present attending the police, and has, as far as I know, no qualifications at all, but is a pet of the Supt here.”<sup>19</sup> The offending practitioner later passed an examination and was duly registered.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, there was some objection from the public at any restrictions which might deprive an area so poorly provided with doctors of any medical knowledge that might be available. The *Edmonton Bulletin* complained:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Medical Register of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the North-West Territories, 1886-1908, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Public Accounts of the North-West Territories for the ten months ended 30th June, 1889*, p. 6; A.G., 274 L; L.G.O., p. 26.

<sup>17</sup> A.G., 264 L; Medical Register, p. 2; *Public Accounts*, 1889, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> A.G., 264 L; Heber C. Jamieson, *The Early Medical History of Edmonton*, Edmonton, 1933 (Reprint from *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 1933, XXIX, 431) p. 4. This doctor was invited to Edmonton to practice in 1881, but declined as the citizens refused to guarantee him \$2000 a year. *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> L.G.O., p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> Medical Register, No. 23, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Editorial quoted (without date) in H. C. Jamieson, *Early Medicine in Alberta* (Edmonton, 1947), p. 43.

The Medical Ordinance, as it now stands is a one-sided affair, having no regard whatever for the peculiar circumstances of this North-West country. As in the case of the legal Ordinance, no one would object to a duly qualified physician being allowed a large percentage of advantage over a quack; much greater even than should be allowed the lawyer over the pettifogger, for in his case life itself, not merely money, is at stake. But that in a country such as this, where for instance, the three hundred miles between Edmonton and Battleford, and for two hundred miles between Edmonton and Calgary [sic] there is no qualified physician, nor is there likely to be for years, it should be made a punishable offence for a person to receive pay for doing some necessary act of medicine or surgery, it is an outrage.

This view receives some support from a letter to the Lieutenant Governor from one who was presumably a doctor living in Russell, Manitoba. As there was no doctor in the Territories nearer than Moosomin he was often called by those near the border, but had to work "in an illegal manner" for want of a license to practice. He would, he said, have been able "to stamp out at once a fatal epidemic of measles" had he been armed with "magisterial or medical powers."<sup>22</sup> While the reader of the letter must remain more or less unconvinced, it must sometimes have been difficult to decide how far the public interest required a really strict application of the law.

The acceptance, with barely a rebuke, of very late registrations,<sup>23</sup> indicates that Lieutenant Governor Dewdney did not make a practice of seeking out offenders, but when a doubtful case came before him, he applied the law rather rigidly. In June 1886 he appointed Dr. Augustus Jukes and Dr. Henry Dodd examiners under the ordinance.<sup>24</sup> All those who wished to practice and who could not produce adequate diplomas were required to take an examination. This requirement was somewhat resented by two members of the medical service of the Mounted Police. These men, coming with partial medical training, had been for years employed as hospital staff sergeants. Sergeant John C. Holme of Maple Creek represented that he had practiced medicine for seven years among police, Indians, and half-breeds, often with little or no professional supervision, and that his experience, his service, and the recognition of qualified medical men justified his registration. Although he was strongly supported by Dr. Jukes, the Lieutenant Governor insisted on an examination.<sup>25</sup> He was equally firm in the much more trying case of Sergeant A. B. MacKay who, having taken an "examination" before two Mounted Police doctors in Battleford, bombarded the Lieutenant Governor with requests for registration for fifteen months. Although he enlisted the supposedly powerful support of Lord Boyle of Macleod, he failed to move Dewdney.<sup>26</sup> Eventually he set up a drug store (there being no law about druggists at the time) and there, it was generally supposed, he not only filled prescriptions, but wrote them.

<sup>22</sup> L.G.O., p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-9.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-6, 44-8.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-2, 54, 56-7, 64, 70-1, 74, 75-7, 82-3.

It may have been that Dewdney, weary of presiding over the medical profession, suggested to his successor that doctors could best be controlled by other doctors. At any rate, in 1888, the year of his retirement and of the inauguration of the fully elected Legislative Assembly, an ordinance<sup>27</sup> was passed creating the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the North-West Territories as a corporate body, to be composed of those already registered under the ordinance of 1885, and, of course, of future registrants under the new ordinance. The College was to be governed by a council of five, elected by all registered practitioners, to hold office for two years.<sup>28</sup> The Council was to elect its own officers, such as president, vice-president, and registrar, the last-named being responsible for all elections after the first. A register was to be kept open to the public and published from time to time.<sup>29</sup> All those then registered in the Lieutenant Governor's Office were entitled to free registration; others were to pay a fee of twenty dollars.<sup>30</sup> The Council was to register any member of any incorporated College of Physicians and Surgeons or of any similarly organized body in the Dominion of Canada; or anyone with such qualifications as would entitle him to be registered by such a body.<sup>31</sup> Those presenting a diploma representing a four-year course in medicine were also to be registered after an examination "if deemed necessary."<sup>32</sup> Unregistered practitioners could be fined from twenty-five to one hundred dollars on a suit before a justice of the peace instituted by any private person. All those registered must pay the fee of the College—not less than one or more than two dollars a year—which was recoverable in court.

To the newly organized College of Physicians and Surgeons this ordinance entrusted the important task of promoting the interests of the profession and protecting those of the public. It was not an easy one. Excessively high professional standards and too rigid an application of the law against unlicensed practitioners would be injurious to the public, besides defeating their own end. It is significant that the ordinance actually gave the College power to stay private proceedings against unregistered practitioners. Evidently, in some places, their services were considered indispensable, and it was felt possible to entrust the newly created professional body with powers unfit to be exercised by the lieutenant governor. On the other hand, too lax an administration of the law in response to the needs of the moment would tend to discourage well-qualified men from settling in the Territories. In the exercise of this important trust the Council of the College needed the interest and support of all its members.

<sup>27</sup> *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1888, No. 5.*

<sup>28</sup> Later extended to four years, *Ordinances, 1898, No. 22.*

<sup>29</sup> Although the minutes indicate that a number of registers were printed, only one has come to light. It was published in Prince Albert in 1894 and contains, in addition to the register, the rules and regulations for conducting proceedings of the Medical Council and the Code of Ethics adopted by the Medical Association. This copy is in the Legislative Library, Regina.

<sup>30</sup> This was a reduction of the \$50 fee then charged. In 1892 the fee was again raised to \$50. *Ordinances, 1892, No. 12.*

<sup>31</sup> This clause seems to have been intended to enable qualified men from Great Britain to register without examination. This right was granted them specifically in 1890. *Ordinances, 1890, No. 14.*

<sup>32</sup> Amendments to the registration rule were made in 1890, 1891-2, 1894, 1900, 1903. In this, as in other matters, the legislature evidently had to feel its way. Examinations seem to have been made obligatory in 1894 for all those presenting diplomas except men from Great Britain and Ireland. *Ordinances, 1894, No. 34.*

Unfortunately, this was not forthcoming. No doubt most doctors were too busy struggling to establish themselves in new communities to have much time or energy for wider professional obligations; and it is pretty certain that even the two-dollar fee was not unimportant to many of them. As late as 1898 the Registrar reported that, out of eighty-nine men in active practice, only fourteen had voted in the recent elections and only nineteen were qualified to vote, the rest being more or less deeply in arrears for their fees.<sup>33</sup>

It was fortunate, under such conditions, that there were a few competent men who promoted the interests of the profession with energy, and with at least a very fair comprehension of the interests of the public as a whole.<sup>34</sup> The first elections to the Council, held, after some unexplained delay, in February 1890, returned Dr. O. C. Edwards, Qu'Appelle Station; Dr. J. D. Lafferty, Calgary; Dr. R. B. Cotton, Regina; Dr. R. G. Brett, Banff; and Dr. H. C. Wilson, Edmonton.<sup>35</sup> Of these five men, three served on the Council continuously for some ten years and two of them for almost the entire territorial period.<sup>36</sup> There was a similar useful continuity in the office of the Registrar. The first Registrar held office from 1890 to 1893. Although a well-known and popular doctor, and a man undeniably possessed of many admirable traits, it must be admitted that as Registrar he was not a success. A fire in his house in 1893<sup>37</sup> destroyed all records except the register, which was most fortunately preserved. It is impossible to help suspecting that the fire may have been at least beneficial in simplifying a hopeless confusion. At any rate the minute book records a long series of attempts to clarify and liquidate various indiscretions, financial and otherwise, efforts still going on in 1904, a year and a half after the death of the unlucky official.<sup>38</sup>

His successor, Dr. Hugh U. Bain of Prince Albert, was a very different type. He held office from October 1893 until his sudden death in 1901. Always neat and precise, his entries in the minute book show an interesting development and improvement of method as the business of the Council increased. His annual reports give a very clear impression of events from year to year, and his firm but tactful recommendations suggest that his influence was considerable and useful. The enthusiastic eulogy contained in the letter of condolence to Mrs. Bain was probably completely sincere, although expressed in the rather flowery language characteristic of the age and of Dr. Lafferty.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Seventy defaulters practicing in the Territories owed \$456 in fees. Minute Book of Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, North-West Territories, 1893-1908, pp. 83-4.

<sup>34</sup> There is evidence that some of the leading doctors, regarding their professional training, quite rightly, as personal property, were inclined to be perhaps over-careful of their property interests. A statement on behalf of a Regina doctor, seeking an appointment as jail physician, that "it would be wrong to send another here to compete with those who as pioneers have borne the brunt," although probably sound, does suggest a somewhat personal approach. John Secord to....., Oct. 14, 1885, A.G., 297 L.

<sup>35</sup> *The Qu'Appelle Progress*, Feb. 14, 1890.

<sup>36</sup> Dr. J. D. Lafferty and Dr. R. G. Brett. Dr. Brett seems to have missed one two-year term.

<sup>37</sup> Minute Book, pp. 2-3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 42, 50, 63, 72, 88-9, 106-7, 168-9, 185, 260; Auditor's Report on the Estates administered by . . . Public Administrator for the Judicial District of Western Assiniboia, July 8, 1908, p. 11, in Turgeon Papers, Miscellaneous File.

<sup>39</sup> Minute Book, pp. 181-2.

Dr. J. D. Lafferty succeeded Dr. Bain. He has already been mentioned as a pioneer doctor of many interests. The pages of the minute book seem to reveal, as might be expected from his name, a man much less precise and methodical than Dr. Bain, but full of energy and enthusiasm, affectionate to his colleagues and loyal to his profession. They certainly reveal a decided Irish accent.<sup>40</sup> On Dr. Bain's death, Dr. Lafferty conveyed the various records from Prince Albert to Calgary, where they remained until the creation of the provinces, and then passed into the possession of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Alberta.

The Council thus was able to maintain with fair efficiency a pretty continuous membership and policy through a critical period in the Territories, when new problems were constantly arising and taking on urgency with a very rapidly increasing population. Finances caused some anxiety in the early years, as very little could be achieved on a two-dollar fee that few people paid. This difficulty was removed with the arrival of new doctors in growing numbers, as each one paid a registration fee of fifty dollars, and many paid the same amount in examination fees. When the accounts were balanced in 1893 (after the fire), the total cash accounted for was \$574 with a balance of \$103. Less than six years later, cash accounted for was \$3894.01 with \$2064.37 on hand.<sup>41</sup>

Such prosperity warranted increased expenditure. The allowance for attendance at Council meetings was increased from five to ten dollars a day with expenses.<sup>42</sup> Council meetings were held every year (except in 1896) and often twice a year, generally at Banff, Calgary, or Regina. The Registrar's salary went up from fifty dollars a year in 1895 to one hundred in 1899; the next year it was raised to three hundred dollars, in 1904 to five hundred dollars, and in 1905 to seven hundred a year.<sup>43</sup> These last rather rapid increases may have been due to the persuasive tongue of Dr. Lafferty, whose duties were increasing. Certainly, it was Dr. Lafferty who induced the Council to add to the office furniture of a safe (secured by Dr. Bain), a typewriter and an office desk. As he attained proficiency on the typewriter, Dr. Lafferty assured the Council, they would all wish the purchase had been made long ago, suggesting that the expenditure of one hundred and twenty-five dollars had not been authorized without some effort on his part.<sup>44</sup>

The increased expenditure was justified not only by the rapidly increasing number of registered practitioners (957 in 1906), but by a corresponding increase and variety of responsibilities. The College of Physicians and Surgeons added to its original duties of registration and examination many other interesting activities which deserve some consideration.

The conditions under which the Council was authorized and required by law to register medical men have already been explained. It was suggested that members of recognized Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in the Dominion be registered without examination. This seemed reasonable enough, but the Council of the College in the Territories immediately took the position that it was also

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 212, 262.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6, 144.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1, 101, 154, 273, 279.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235, 243, 248.

reasonable that other Colleges should grant a like privilege to doctors received by examination in the Territories. Such reciprocal registration was requested, and supported with evidence on the standards exacted in the Territories. Medical bodies elsewhere, however, remained unimpressed and apparently refused to grant the privilege. To make matters worse, the Territorial Legislature in 1900 insisted on granting the privilege outright to members of Dominion Colleges without asking anything in return. This measure, taken without consulting the Council, illustrates the problem of an apparent clash between the interests of the profession and the needs of the community. It seems quite likely that the need of more doctors caused the Assembly to insist on giving every encouragement to qualified men to come to the Territories, regardless of the quite legitimate desire of the Council to secure proper recognition of its members throughout the Dominion.<sup>45</sup> In 1903, apparently feeling that the Council was being over-rigid in the matter of registration, an ordinance was passed allowing a rejected applicant to appeal to the courts. Such an appeal was made by a member of the Manitoba College of Physicians and Surgeons, refused on the ground that this body required no examination. The appeal was sustained. Dr. Lafferty as Registrar made the bitter comment that the decision made the Territories "the dumping ground for the overflow of the rest of the Dominion," but there was no redress.<sup>46</sup> In the cause of a general Dominion registration the Council worked seriously and perseveringly, but without complete success by 1906.<sup>47</sup>

A very important responsibility of the Council connected with registration was the examination of all applicants, other than those from Great Britain and Ireland, who were not already members of a recognized College of Physicians and Surgeons. Examinations were generally held twice a year (the exact dates were changed rather frequently) at first at Calgary, then for a year or two at Regina, then for several years at both Calgary and Indian Head—two areas of fairly dense population at the turn of the century. There was authority to hold examinations at Prince Albert, the home of the Registrar, until 1901, but apparently none were held there. In 1903 Regina was substituted for Indian Head as a centre, along with Calgary.<sup>48</sup>

The subjects of examination in 1894 were presumably those usual in that day—Chemistry, Physiology and Histology, *Materia Medica* and *Therapeutics*, *Jurisprudence* and *Toxicology*, Anatomy, *Obstetrics* and *Diseases of Women*, *Practice of Medicine*, *Pathology*.<sup>49</sup> Some changes were made in subject grouping, but no important ones in subject matter beyond the interesting addition of "Sanitary Medicine." Arrangements were made for homoeopaths to have special papers on certain subjects,<sup>50</sup> and for translation of the papers of candidates who wrote in French.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Ordinances*, 1900, cap. 15; Minute Book, pp. 114, 130, 142, 151-2, 160, 168.

<sup>46</sup> *Ordinances*, 1903 (2nd session), cap. 15; Minute Book, pp. 263-6 and typewritten insert at page 266.

<sup>47</sup> Minute Book, pp. 153, 159-160, 200, 222.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-9, 101-2, 107, 133, 245.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 131-2.

<sup>51</sup> There is only one instance recorded. In 1902 a candidate wrote in French and his papers were translated for a fee of \$20. *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 196.

The original marking arrangement of thirty-three per cent as a minimum on every subject with a sixty per cent average on the whole, was gradually changed as certain presumably key subjects in medical practice were "weighted" more heavily than others. Eventually the pass marks varied from twenty-five on a subject like Chemistry to sixty on the Practice of Medicine.<sup>52</sup> One very early examination, perhaps the earliest, was written in 1893 by a man and his wife, among others. She passed, but he failed and had to write a supplemental. However she failed to pay her fee, and her name figures in a number of severe and even wrathful entries in the minute book.<sup>53</sup> She was one of nine women doctors registered before 1906.<sup>54</sup>

It appears from the records that medical examiners in the Territories were guilty of crimes, probably common to examiners of every time and place. In spite of exhortations from the Registrar, their papers were seldom turned in punctually. The examiner in Surgery, it was stated in 1901, had never turned in a paper, so that apparently the Registrar and the presiding examiner were always obliged to devise something hastily at the last moment. Nor were marks returned promptly. Such procedures elicited complaints from candidates and Registrar alike. Presiding examiners also were criticized for their habit of absent-mindedly pocketing the fees, and making no return either of fees or of expenses, a proceeding which might have been very profitable could it have been carried through with success.<sup>55</sup>

Complaints on all these matters were made by Dr. Bain in 1899 and 1900. Apparently they were not without effect for Dr. Lafferty gave examiners an excellent character in his first report as Registrar in 1902.<sup>56</sup> His report of 1903 contains a rather different kind of complaint in the following emphatic, if confusing, passage:

Reverting again to the supply of medical men being greatly in excess of the demand, I would ask the opinion of the Council if it would not be wise to issue a circular to examiners to be careful in the preparation of their papers and to exercise their best judgment in marking them. To make their questions searching and practical and only such as any candidate ought to be able to make a pass on and mark close.

Speaking from experience and observation of the examinations of the Council for many years I think I am justified in saying that the preparation of many of the papers from year to year bear on their faces the evidence of little thought and hasty preparation, and not always calculated to be a fair test. I have seen papers which were severe enough for candidates for the Fellowship of London and marked up to 85 and 90. I think gross errors in an answer ought not to be overlooked, but debited against the assessed value of the paper. There is no doubt our papers from year to year as a class have been sufficiently searching and compre-

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 225, 263.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-177, *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> Three of these are mentioned in Heber C. Jamieson, *Early Medicine in Alberta*, p. 138. Another was Dr. Elizabeth Matheson, a Church of England missionary of Onion Lake, whose remarkable career has recently been sketched by her daughter, Ruth M. Buck, in an article in *Saturday Night*, Oct. 23, 1948.

<sup>55</sup> Minute Book, pp. 115-6, 141, 158-9, 163.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

hensive and will bear comparision with examinations of a like class anywhere, but I think the marking has been too generous in many instances.<sup>57</sup>

Dr. Lafferty probably had the dangerous gift of writing as he spoke. He was obviously trying to say that standards should be raised, without admitting that in the past they had been too low, a delicate undertaking in which he was not unsuccessful. He also points out, and truly, that a fair examination, rigidly marked, is a more severe test than a paper so difficult that the examiner is compelled to overlook glaring errors. Dr. Lafferty's recommendations were made at a time when the Council was inclined to restrict registrations a little and to criticize the Legislature for too hospitable a policy towards new doctors.<sup>58</sup> Formerly it seems that, although maintaining their standards to the extent of a fairly high ratio of failures, they did try to keep the public viewpoint in mind. One doctor who failed in 1899 was allowed to register as a successful candidate because he did well in "practical subjects" and because of his "age, length of time in practice, and present location, where he does not come into competition with other medical men."<sup>59</sup>

This regard for the public interest and public opinion was important in governing the policy of the Council towards unlicensed practitioners who seem to have been pretty numerous through the entire territorial period. Even the Mounted Police in the Yukon had to be admonished for employing as surgeon an unregistered doctor.<sup>60</sup> It was all very well to maintain high standards of registration and agree to tolerate the unlicensed practitioner in special cases; but the prevention of any illegal practice constituted a most difficult problem. As has been said, the ordinance left prosecution to private persons, the fines being paid to the Council. In this, as in so many other matters where there is general sympathy or toleration for the law-breaker, there was little likelihood of action from private non-professional people. Registered doctors living in the neighbourhood might wish to do so, but they, like others, would be deterred by the fear of social disapproval—a very serious matter in a thinly settled area.

The Council soon decided that it must provide funds for prosecutions to be initiated by its own members. In 1895 a prosecution was instituted at Calgary. By 1898 the prevention of illegal practice was becoming almost routine business at every Council meeting. Those known to be practicing illegally had already been circularized.<sup>61</sup> At the August meeting the Registrar was authorized to have printed a list of the registered members of the College, along with the medical ordinances, examination regulations, and copies of the last examination papers. He was then to write again to all illegal practitioners warning that, unless they registered on or before October 1, proceedings would be taken against them.<sup>62</sup> These measures did bring results. By February of 1899 the Registrar was able

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244. As no examinations papers have been found, it is impossible to get a modern opinion of these strictures.

<sup>58</sup> See above, p. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Minute Book, p. 120.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

to report that most of the offenders had registered.<sup>63</sup> At this meeting it was further agreed to circularize all registered doctors, asking their co-operation. Doctors in one area were particularly asked to send in reports on a man who was practicing after having been refused registration. This man had failed in his examination. He was convicted shortly after and fined twenty dollars on information secured by a solicitor from an unstated source. He tried the Council examination, failed, and was convicted again in 1901.<sup>64</sup>

Meanwhile, the Council was initiating its regular procedure for prosecutions. In August 1898 it was agreed that every Council member should accept some responsibility for securing evidence which might lead to convictions. The sum of fifty dollars was put at the disposal of each member for preliminary measures, such as the employment of detectives.<sup>65</sup> By 1901, the Council's finances being in a prosperous condition, the amount was increased to \$150 with a general agreement to press the matter regardless of expense.<sup>66</sup> A number of convictions were secured,<sup>67</sup> but the difficulties were great. Council members complained that people would not report offenders, or worse still, having done so, failed to produce adequate evidence.<sup>68</sup> That there was little official sympathy was shown by the coolness of the Mounted Police when asked to co-operate,<sup>69</sup> and the imposition of fines so light as to be no serious deterrent. Fines were as low as five dollars; they seem never to have gone above fifty, although the ordinance allowed one hundred dollars. On the other hand, legal expenses alone might run close to fifty dollars, to say nothing of the expense of securing information for which the Council had made such generous provision.<sup>70</sup> In spite of this, encouraged by the zeal and energy of Dr. Lafferty, the prosecution policy was continued throughout the period. An effort in 1901 to collect evidence in the neighbourhood of Edmonton through a regular agent (paid one dollar a day) ended in failure.<sup>71</sup> By 1903, however, arrangements had been made for a law student, having been instructed by the Calgary solicitor and no doubt by Dr. Lafferty, to go along the Calgary-Edmonton line, interview all registered men, and institute prosecutions where needed. He was to be paid three dollars a day. Described as a man of "integrity, tact and ability," he shortly came to be referred to as the "Council's prosecutor" and did work in Assiniboia as well as in the western area.<sup>72</sup>

The problem of illegal practitioners came up in a special way in connection with the gold rush to the Yukon at the end of the century. At the Council meeting of January 1898, the Registrar reported much correspondence on medical practice there. It was agreed that Dr. N. J. Lindsay, a member of the Council, who was planning to go to the Yukon, whether in a professional or other capacity is not

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 147, 161.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170. It will be recalled that the Council was already provoked at the "open door" policy of the legislature with respect to registration.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 183, 197-8.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 165, 183, 187, 197-8, 206.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 242-3.

clear, should be empowered to conduct examinations and accept registrations in order that what was later termed "the very deplorable state of affairs" might be remedied. Dr. Lindsay paid his visit during 1898. He was unable to conduct examinations as the papers did not arrive. He did accept thirteen registrations, four of which were later invalidated. He also organized some sort of body, termed by him a College of Physicians and Surgeons, later referred to as the "Yukon Medical Council," about which nothing is very clear except that it seems to have been a kind of step-child to the College of the Territories. It seems fair to assume from the addresses in the register that, in addition to nine fees from the Yukon, the Council collected at least fifteen others from men planning to go there, a total of twelve hundred dollars. Dr. Lindsay's expenses amounted to something over a hundred dollars. Yet when the Yukon organization requested, through Dr. Lindsay, financial aid in conducting prosecutions, the answer was that such fines as came in from the Yukon would be turned over to them, but that, as Dr. Lindsay had already contributed ten dollars, nothing more should be asked! Such an attitude seems grasping, if not avaricious; it is possible that Dr. Lindsay brought back such glowing accounts of medical fees in the Yukon that the Council felt itself entitled to some share in the gold mine.<sup>73</sup>

A difficult and delicate duty imposed, quite rightly, on the Council was that of supervising the professional conduct of all registered members of the College. In 1892 the Council was authorized to erase from the register the name of any doctor convicted of felony or found "guilty of infamous conduct in any professional respect."<sup>74</sup> Perhaps because it was thought desirable to regularize the enforcement of discipline, the ordinance of 1898<sup>75</sup> required the Council to institute an inquiry on an infamous conduct charge if requested to do so by any three registered practitioners, but, it was prudently added, not "for adopting or refraining from adopting any particular theory of medicine or surgery." A special committee, later called the Committee on Discipline, was required, and was authorized to take evidence on oath and to procure subpoenas by application to a judge of the Supreme Court.

The first Committee on Discipline was organized in 1899.<sup>76</sup> Only three cases of discipline are recorded. The first, in 1903, was rather serious. The culprit, resident in Regina, had not a desirable record. He had failed twice in his Council examinations before finally being accepted in 1899.<sup>77</sup> In 1902 he garnisheed the wages of an apparently very poor man for the remainder (eighty-four dollars) of what looks like an inflated account of one hundred and thirty-three dollars.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Medical Register, pp. 14-20; Minute Book, pp. 85, 101, 122-3, 125-6, 140-1, 160-1, 167-8.

<sup>74</sup> Ordinances, 1892, No. 24. Only one name was erased, in 1897. This doctor was later reinstated, apparently on the advice of the Council solicitor, who questioned the legality of the erasure, Minute Book, p. 177. The Council was ready to order the erasure of another name, but desisted, again on the advice of its solicitor, *ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

<sup>75</sup> Ordinances, 1898, No. 22.

<sup>76</sup> Minute Book, p. 138.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 121, 147.

<sup>78</sup> A.G., 1388. The evidence is not sufficient for any conclusion. The account is almost entirely for house visits during two illnesses. The visits were generally once a day but often twice, and occasionally three times, and were charged at two dollars each. The partial payment had been made in cash, \$25, and three tons of hay valued at \$24. The garnishee yielded only \$4 as the man was a part-time employee.

The offence with which he was charged was that, when covered with a rash from an illness that he should have known was smallpox, he attended a patient and also went to a meeting at Qu'Appelle Station. The Committee, after asking information from three government officials, one at Winnipeg and two at Regina, and receiving the slightest possible co-operation, found the doctor guilty of "very unprofessional" conduct, which they "strongly censured." While hoping that publicity would be given to the censure, they did not feel that his name should be removed from the register.<sup>79</sup> In 1905 a Calgary doctor was accused of not taking proper steps to prevent a nurse engaged on a septic case from attending a confinement. It was decided that the doctor "might have gone a little further" than the advice which he did offer, but that no action was required.<sup>80</sup> Another case in 1905, of which no details are given, concerned a doctor at Macleod. The Committee agreed that his conduct had been unbecoming to a member of the medical profession, but confined itself to giving a certain publicity to this opinion without further action.<sup>81</sup> There seems to have been a feeling that the cause of discipline suffered somewhat from the fact that the only punishment authorized was the extremely severe one of expulsion from the profession. No doubt, however, official censures were sufficient to warn those members of the public who were willing to be warned.

Apart from the training, organization, and discipline of members of the College, the Council did make important contributions to public health, a matter rather neglected in territorial days.<sup>82</sup> In 1899 the Public Health Ordinance was referred to the Council for recommendations on proposed amendments. The members of the College were circularized for information and advice, and although their replies were regrettably few, the Council examined carefully legislation of other countries, consulted with the territorial executive, and made recommendations for the Ordinance of 1902.<sup>83</sup>

An extremely interesting project closely connected with public health was initiation of the "Bacteriological Laboratory," whose successor still operates in Regina. The members of the Council brought the need of a laboratory to the attention of Premier Haultain. After full discussion Haultain agreed that the Territorial Government would provide the accommodation and pay the salaries, on condition that the laboratory should be located in Regina and that the Council provide all primary equipment. Members of the medical profession were to have free service. The laboratory was equipped by the Council at a total cost of \$3,795.68, and Dr. G. A. Charlton was placed in charge. His salary was paid by the Territorial Government on a scale which seems to have been generous for those days. The Council could afford to be proud of its success in a very important undertaking.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Minute Book, pp. 224, 241-3, 256-7.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 275-7.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 289-91.

<sup>82</sup> It was placed under the Department of Agriculture, apparently because the problem first arose in connection with plant and animal diseases.

<sup>83</sup> Minute Book, pp. 151, 167, 185, 196, 198-9, 202-3.

<sup>84</sup> *Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture of the Province of Saskatchewan*, 1905, p. 45; *ibid.*, 1906, pp. 138-9; Minute Book, pp. 262, 277-8, 281.

The establishment of the Regina laboratory was one of the last projects of the Territorial College of Physicians and Surgeons. The creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905 gave it the final task of winding up its own affairs and drafting legislation for the creation of two new provincial colleges. For the latter task the Registrar received the handsome fee of five hundred dollars.<sup>85</sup> The final winding up of the business and division of funds was complicated by the fact that, although the Alberta legislature passed its medical act in 1906, the Saskatchewan act was for some reason delayed until 1908. Therefore, in 1908 Saskatchewan, having registered many more doctors than Alberta in the past two years, objected to the exactly equal division of funds originally accepted. The matter was amicably settled, the total funds, when the books were wound up, amounting to \$41,683.16, a strange contrast to the tiny budgets of less than fifteen years previously. Regret at the conclusion of official connections by men who had worked cordially together for many years was recorded by the Registrar with what seems to be genuine warmth and sincerity.

The limited sources available make it very difficult to pass any judgment on the activities of the early leaders of the medical profession on the prairies. Like other newcomers they had to establish themselves and their families; and in order to do so, they had to exploit the professional training and the professional monopoly that was theirs. They were impatient at opposition, and they may sometimes too narrowly have assumed that what benefitted the profession would benefit the public. But the Legislative Assembly and public opinion were well able to correct this tendency, and the constant stress on professional privileges of these able and energetic men was invaluable in modern pioneer communities whose insistence on medical services of some kind could make them an easy prey to any glib practitioner.

HILDA NEATBY

<sup>85</sup> Minute Book, p. 286.

## ARCHIVAL STUDIES

### Early Territorial Hospitals

THE almost complete displacement of the home by the hospital in the care of the sick is one of the significant social changes of the last half century.

It is difficult for us to realize that the care of the homeless or indigent sick and the control of epidemics were once the chief considerations in the establishment of hospitals. Not only was much left to private charity, but government contributions assumed that hospital services would only be required by needy people or in exceptional cases. However, as the first hospitals appeared in the North-West Territories, the modern idea that a hospital might provide better nursing care than the home, even for the well-to-do, was gaining ground. There was a special need for extension of hospital service in an area where the population included a large number of single men, and diphtheria and other epidemic diseases were common.

The earliest hospitals in the Territories were established at the Roman Catholic Missions. In other centres, such as Regina, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert, private nursing homes and home nurses played an important role in the care of the sick, while the North-West Mounted Police had hospitals at several of their posts for members of the force. Near the end of the century the Victorian Order of Nurses helped to install cottage hospitals at a number of points.<sup>1</sup>

By 1898 there were four active hospital associations which had been incorporated by territorial ordinances: Macleod General Hospital (1887), Medicine Hat General Hospital (1889), Calgary General Hospital (1890), and Galt Hospital, Lethbridge (1894).<sup>2</sup> The constitutions of these hospitals followed a common pattern. A group of local residents were made "a body politic and corporate," with power to hold property and funds for hospital purposes. The affairs of the hospital were managed by a board of directors, elected annually by the members of the corporation. Membership was based on the payment of an annual subscription. If a grant was received from the North-West Government, the hospital was required, upon the request of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, to maintain an adequate supply of vaccine for vaccinating poor persons free of charge and others for a fee of not more than seventy-five cents.

The earliest public general hospital in the North-West Territories was at Medicine Hat. Much care, energy and enthusiasm went into its planning and organization. The hospital building, completed early in 1890, cost over twenty thousand dollars and had forty beds. Assistance in meeting construction and equipment costs came from the Dominion and Territorial Governments, several companies with interests in the West, a number of generous friends in Eastern Canada, and from the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. In Medicine Hat, as in

<sup>1</sup> A general survey of the development of hospitals and nursing services in Saskatchewan and Alberta will be found in J. M. Gibbon and M. S. Mathewson, *Three Centuries of Canadian Nursing* (Toronto, 1947).

<sup>2</sup> A corporation known as The Regina General Hospital was established by an ordinance of the North-West Council in 1886, but no hospital was organized under this charter.

other localities in the North-West, the hospital benefited greatly from a variety of fund-raising activities organized by the women of the community. It was partly financed by a system of hospital insurance tickets, under which the Board of Directors agreed to "lodge, board, and give nurse and medical attendance" for a year to anyone who purchased a five dollar ticket; several hundred took advantage of the scheme during the first year.<sup>3</sup>

The Medicine Hat General Hospital was the most important institution of its kind in the Territories during the 1890's. In 1895 the *Regina Leader* reported that since the opening of this hospital Regina patients had been treated for a total of 1,623 days, and it urged larger donations from Regina for the support of the hospital.<sup>4</sup> In 1896 the North-West Government arranged for incurables to be cared for there. Two years later it was reported that "The Medicine Hat Hospital is the only one in the Territories employing a resident medical superintendent, and it does a large amount of general work; its clientele being drawn from all parts of the Territories."<sup>5</sup>

The first grants to hospitals by the North-West Government were made in 1889, when five hundred dollars was assigned to the Medicine Hat General Hospital and one hundred dollars to the St. Albert Hospital.<sup>6</sup> In 1892 the "Ordinance to Regulate Public Aid to Hospitals" replaced the more or less arbitrary lump sum method of payment by one based on the number of "patient days" provided by each institution. It also empowered the government to appoint an inspector who was to report to the Lieutenant Governor in Council on the management of each institution receiving public aid.

With the formation of departments in the public service of the North-West Government in 1897, the administration of hospital grants was placed under the Department of Agriculture.<sup>7</sup> A section dealing with hospitals from the first report of this Department is reproduced below.<sup>8</sup>

LEWIS H. THOMAS

<sup>3</sup> Editorial, "Cheap Insurance," *Medicine Hat Times*, December 19, 1889. See also the annual report of the Board of Directors for 1890, *Medicine Hat Times*, January 22, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> Editorial, "A Deserving Institution," *The Leader*, December 12, 1895.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture of the North-West Territories*, 1898, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories*, 1889, pp. 69, 87.

<sup>7</sup> In Saskatchewan the Department of Agriculture administered public health measures and hospital grants until the Bureau of Public Health was established in 1910.

<sup>8</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture of the North-West Territories*, 1898, pp. 89-91. The report was written by Charles W. Peterson, Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture. The section on hospitals includes the report of the first Inspector of Territorial Hospitals, Dr. G. A. Kennedy of Macleod.

### TERRITORIAL HOSPITALS

The following is a schedule showing the work of Territorial hospitals during the current departmental year—or more correctly speaking for the thirteen months ending the 31st December, 1898:

Hospital	Total no. of patients	Total no. of treatment	No. of days of free treatment
Macleod.....	263	6000	485
Saltcoats.....	49	1328	374½
Edmonton.....	453	7023	5522
Galt Hospital.....	300	8953	1843½
Calgary [General].....	364	5876	3142½ <sub>10</sub>
St. Albert.....	57	839	835
Holy Cross [Calgary].....	327	5966	2492½
Medicine Hat.....	413	9991	6869
	<hr/> 2226	<hr/> 45976	<hr/> [sic] 21564½

I question whether any public funds are being expended on a more worthy and useful object than the encouragement of hospital work. Some of the institutions mentioned would compare favourably, in respect to buildings, appointments and staff, with hospitals in larger towns within older settled districts. There is a peculiarly appropriate field for hospital work in the North-West Territories. A large proportion of our settlers are unmarried men, often living alone and miles removed from the nearest charitably inclined neighbour, who could look after them in time of sickness or accident. They are fortunate, indeed, if they can enjoy the luxury of proper care and skilled attendance in a well regulated hospital in such an emergency. I shall not even attempt to describe the dreadful misery which women would in many cases be called upon to endure, to say nothing of loss of life or permanent injury to health, were they not able to utilise the maternity wards of some of our hospitals. Too much stress cannot be laid on the necessity of further developing this feature of our hospital work.

The country owes a great debt of gratitude to the public spirited people who have, in the past, so generously supported these institutions and who bear the large expense incidental to the efficient management of the same. It can, of course, be readily understood, that the Territorial grant, amounting as it does to only a fraction over thirteen cents per hospital day, or on a basis of 25 cents per day for each free patient treated, will not begin to reimburse hospitals for charitable work done.

The internal management of Territorial hospitals is as economical as anywhere in Canada. Although I have been unable to obtain absolutely correct figures from all institutions embodied in this report as to the cost per hospital day, by comparing the cases where these statistics were available with the published reports of hospitals in eastern Canada and British Columbia, I find that the cost per day of maintaining a patient in Territorial hospitals is generally



VICTORIA HOSPITAL, REGINA, 1901

*Photograph in Archives Division, Legislative Library*

The hospital was established in 1899, but occupied rented premises until the opening of this building in 1901. It later became the Regina General Hospital.



VICTORIA HOSPITAL, PRINCE ALBERT, 1899

From *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture of the North-West Territories, 1904,*  
Plate XIII

This hospital was established in November 1899 and at that time occupied the building shown in the illustration. It later became the Prince Albert Municipal Hospital.

lower than elsewhere. It would be well if secretaries of all our hospitals would furnish the department with an annual statement showing receipts and expenditure as well as other information of interest.

Much has been said about the successful settler being the best immigration agent. It may fairly be argued, that the presence in a new country such as this, of hospitals and similar institutions following in the train of civilisation, is no mean agency through which to attract the attention of intending immigrants of a desirable class, and the appropriation of the Government in this direction may therefore be considered almost an expenditure on account of immigration.

The large influx of settlers during the past year has thrown a great burden upon residents in the vicinity of nearly all Territorial hospitals and from present indications this burden is not likely to decrease from year to year, in fact, quite the reverse may be expected. Indigent immigrants are brought to these institutions suffering from diseases requiring careful nursing and medical attendance and become a tax on the voluntary contributors who as a rule find the task of providing the necessary funds for keeping their hospitals running under normal conditions quite heavy enough without being called upon to pay for the treatment of absolute outsiders. Steps have been taken by the Dominion authorities to reimburse a few of the hospitals the outlay incurred in caring for immigrant patients, but this help should be generally extended.

It is sad to contemplate the splendid opportunities which people of means and of a philanthropic turn of mind are missing in failing to give generous support towards the extension and maintenance of hospitals in the North-West Territories. It is hard to conceive of a more worthy and deserving object for generosity. The most pitiable spectacle of all, however, presents itself when wealthy men, who in many cases owe their fortunes to the West and the western settler, make lavish gifts towards the erection of institutions in large cities in eastern Canada, calculated to satisfy the cravings of the public for mere amusement, and costly enough to erect and maintain a dozen cottage hospitals extending help to the sick and suffering in as many sections of this country, while the very people, who probably most contributed towards their wealth are struggling to maintain hospitals in the most economical manner possible and often become themselves victims to lack of adequate hospital facilities. The welfare of Canadian commerce more or less depends upon the settlement and development of the West, and the men who are willing to bear the hardships of pioneering in accomplishing that object are not, as a rule, sufficiently well off, nor should they be called upon, unaided, to maintain charitable institutions such as these, which should be looked upon rather as of national than local concern. The most generous construction which can be placed upon this deplorable apathy of wealthy people in the East is that they are not conversant with the position of affairs and, therefore, fail to recognize their responsibility and opportunities in this respect.

## TALES OF WESTERN TRAVELLERS

The following is the first of a series of reviews of the journals of early travellers in and over the prairie. We hope to include names once famous, now almost forgotten: Kelsey, Kane, Southesk, Butler, and others. We are fortunate in opening the series with the diary of a famous doctor, reviewed by a well-known writer of western novels.

### Dr. Cheadle's Journal

**I**N the late summer of 1863 a party of bedraggled human scare-crows crept out of the forest along the lower reaches of the Thompson River and into the shelter of Fort Kamloops. The white men of the party comprised a trio sufficiently unusual to startle the most blasé of the Fort's few inhabitants into attention; for one was a "distinguished scion" of a noble British house, John, Viscount Milton; one an English medical man, Dr. Walter Butler Cheadle; and the third a certain Mr. O'Byrne, one-time classical scholar of Cambridge, and lately Professor of Classics in an obscure American college.

The adventures of Cheadle and Milton have been twice-told, once in a sedate volume of travel, *The North West Passage by Land*,<sup>1</sup> and once, much less sedately, in *Dr. Cheadle's Journal of a Trip across Canada*,<sup>2</sup> published as recently as 1931. Today *The North West Passage by Land* is an all but forgotten book, but the *Journal* remains a delight to anyone interested in a tale of adventure simply told.

If we believe what the authors of *The North West Passage by Land* tell us their reckless expedition was undertaken "with the design of discovering the most direct route through British territory to the gold regions of the Cariboo, and exploring the unknown country on the western flank of the Rocky Mountains." But few journeys of exploration have ever been conducted with less regard for the accumulation of geographical data, and it seems fair to assume that Cheadle and Milton were prompted more by love of adventure than zeal for the extension of human knowledge.

The two young explorers reached Canada in July, 1862, and with a companion named Messiter, whom they had picked up aboard ship—"a fine young fellow, Etonian and Oxonian . . . suffering from prairie fever,"—set off at once for the western plains. Two weeks after landing they were at Georgetown, Minnesota, well beyond the end of steel. Unwilling to wait for the arrival of the steamer which plied between Georgetown and Fort Garry, they bought two old canoes and set off at once up the Red River. But the expedition which began in a spirit of high enthusiasm came near to ending in disaster. The *voyageurs* were scorched by the sun, plagued by mosquitoes, pelted by terrific rain-storms, and in a country abounding in game came near to starvation before the steamer overtook and rescued them. A few excerpts from the *Journal* illustrate the unexpected hazards to which the party found themselves exposed:

<sup>1</sup> *The North West Passage by Land*, by Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle. London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, [1865].

<sup>2</sup> *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada*, 1862-1863, with introduction and notes by A. G. Doughty and Gustave Lanctot. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, Limited, 1931.

Get up at sunrise after very wakeful night. Bitten to death, hands and face much swollen. Messiter much disfigured. Lord M's arms very red and sore. Messiter's back, hair gone to grief.

Lord M's arms covered with large blisters & tremendously swollen. Unfit to paddle, take him in tow.

Horrible tempers. Find M. and Lord M. squabble dreadfully.

Can't see a duck or goose—only tail of pike and two cakes left. Fearfully hungry.

The early entries in the *Journal* prepare us for the difficulties stemming from lack of experience and foresight which were to bedevil the party to the end. They also make it clear that although Milton was the "veteran" of the expedition, having visited the prairies once before, the weight of responsibility fell wholly on Cheadle. A man of mighty physique—he had been a famous oarsman at Cambridge—and equable temperament, Cheadle was admirably suited to the role of unofficial leader. And certainly no man's resourcefulness and patience were ever more sorely tried. For Milton was no more than a peevish ailing youth; and such individuals—Messiter included—who from time to time attached themselves to the party proved almost invariably more hindrance than help.

From Fort Garry the explorers journeyed to Fort Ellice and thence north-west through the Touchwood Hills to Fort Carlton on the North Saskatchewan. The summer being now over, they decided to winter in the vicinity of the Fort and since the squabbling between Milton and Messiter had become intolerable, Cheadle and Milton went into quarters of their own on White Fish Lake, about eighty miles north-west of Carlton. Here they built themselves a comfortable cabin and dug in to await the coming of spring.

Cheadle found the winter cold, long and monotonous. He hunted, trapped, quarrelled with Milton (who sought consolation for his loneliness in the charms of a Cree maiden whom Cheadle refers to with terse disapproval as Delilah), and kept his *Journal* faithfully. The Indians other than Delilah were troublesome only in their insistent demands for rum, the wolves cowardly, the buffalo scarce, so that there was not even the spice of danger to savour the monotony of day-to-day existence.

The long winter over, Cheadle and Milton were quickly on their way to Edmonton. There, in spite of the warning of hard-bitten veteran Westerners who knew greenhorns when they saw them, they set about assembling their equipment for the final lap of the journey. It is at this point in the story that Mr. O'Byrne makes his appearance:

He introduced himself to Milton on Sunday evening & talked at him furiously & shortly after to me. From his own account it appeared that he was a graduate of Cambridge . . . knew Reverend T. Dixon . . . most of the Bishops, etc., & he crammed birth and aristocracy down my throat in nauseating doses . . . He is a great talker & I fancy a great humbug & "ne'er do well" who has been a dead weight on his friends throughout. Seems a well informed fellow however, & nearly knocked my head off with Latin quotations. Horribly afraid of bears . . . The men put up (a tent) for him so that a storm of wind blew it down on top of him & he has now merely thrown it over our cart under which he resides,

a man of sixty clothed in a long coat and walking with a stick. He wishes to go with us & intimates that it will be in our interest to take him.

And take him they did. For O'Byrne, figuratively speaking, wore the old school tie. It seems likely too that Cheadle, a most humane man, took pity on the quaint little scholar. In one way he was richly rewarded for his humanity. O'Byrne proved a handicap and a nuisance; he did no work that he could get out of, ate largely of his companions' limited supply of food, smoked their tobacco, quarrelled violently with the half-breed guide, Assiniboine, and in time of crisis could be relied upon only to do the wrong thing. But whenever doom impended heavily, as it often did, O'Byrne, like the clowns in Shakespeare, was always on hand to provide comic relief; and his absurdities supplied Cheadle with more "human interest" material for his journal than all the other members of the party put together. It is a wonderfully vivid picture that Cheadle draws, without artifice, of the pathetic little old man with his vanities and pretensions and complaints and fears. We see him in his tattered Prince Albert coat, gobbling more than his share of pemmican at the evening meal and slipping away at once to sit on a log and read Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* while the light lasts and comrades do all the chores; we see him helping to put out a forest fire with water carried in a tin cup, fording streams by hanging on to the tail of his horse (he always fell off when he tried to ride across), flying in terror from noises in the bush, and—very occasionally and reluctantly—doing some work:

Milton very much disgusted with his helpmate O'Byrne who gave much advice & exerted himself not at all. He would not put an end of the log on his shoulder, but held it with one hand, and after a few yards would let it down with a run saying he was exhausted & thereby hurting Milton considerably by the jar, not being too exhausted to give a great many orders all the time.

That such a company of ill-assorted tenderfeet were able to cross the Yellow-head Pass, fight their way through forest and across rivers, defy near-starvation, and after eighty-seven days on the trail—they brought food supplies for fifty—reach Kamloops relatively unscathed, is due entirely to the energy and determination of Cheadle and the resourcefulness of Assiniboine, the half-breed guide. Cheadle had engaged Assiniboine at Fort Pitt with some misgivings, for he insisted on bringing his wife and twelve-year old son with him, but the half-breed proved a superb woodsman and hunter, and his loyalty to the party was never seriously disturbed, though at times Milton and O'Byrne treated him disgracefully. Cheadle's chief roles were those of work-horse and peace-maker. He did more manual labour than his two white companions together, cheered them in their numerous hours of black depression, and soothed the frequently outraged feelings of Assiniboine, the one member of the party whom he genuinely respected.

The journey from Edmonton to Kamloops was throughout one of discomfort and hardship and danger. Escapes from violent death were sometimes hairbreadth; tobacco and food ran out entirely—the men smoked kinnikinnick (the inner bark of the dog-wood), and ate two of their pack-horses. And, under the strain of great tribulation, Mr. O'Byrne renounced Paley and for a whole week was a confirmed agnostic. In the light of these experiences, it is not surprising that

Cheadle's description of his first square meal in many weeks is distinguished by a wholly uncharacteristic rash of italics and exclamation marks:

Then—Ah! then—dinner! *Mutton chops, potatoes, fresh butter, delicious galette, rice pudding!* . . . Strong tea & plenty of sugar. Talk of intellectual enjoyment! pooh! pooh! Your stomach is the door of true delight.

At Kamloops Mr. O'Byrne, his faith in Paley fully restored, took leave of the party and so disappears from the pages of the *Journal*. But in *The North West Passage by Land*, Cheadle tells us that O'Byrne "moved on" from Kamloops to Victoria to San Francisco, and thence to Australia. It is, of course, impossible for any reader of the *Journal* to conceive of Mr. O'Byrne as being subject to the ordinary laws of mortality; no doubt he still moves on from land to land, a serio-comic Ancient Mariner with a thousand stories on his tongue and Paley's *Evidences* in his breast pocket.

Surprisingly, there is little in the *Journal* to indicate Cheadle's absorbing interest in the practice of medicine. He treated ailments ranging all the way from common blisters to syphilis and cancer, but he invariably speaks of his patients, whether white men or Indian, in the most guarded terms and reveals no professional secrets. Thus, while it is clear that Milton was in poor health throughout the trip—Cheadle speaks vaguely of repeated attacks of "symptoms"—neither the nature of the illness nor its treatment is ever discussed.

It is pleasant to be able to record that, after his return to the old country, Cheadle enjoyed a most distinguished medical career and that today his name is remembered, not only for his research in children's diseases, but for his vigorous and effective advocacy of the right of women to practise medicine. Nor is it likely that the *Journal* will be soon forgotten. Cheadle was not a literary man but he wrote with his eye on the subject and with a keen sense of the dramatic and ridiculous in human nature. The *Journal* is, one feels, the true reflection of a character in which simplicity, humanity, and a fine zest for life, are the principal elements.

E. A. McCOURT

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES—Seward T. St. John

II

**Mrs. St. John's Diary**

March 30 to December 25, 1902

March 30—Easter Sunday, a beautiful day—goodbyes are said and we set sail for our destination in what is to be our land of adoption, Canada.

April 1—It was arranged that I should remain in Omaha until Seward had provided at least some kind of shelter, but after the cars had left, I realized that my place was in Canada and not in Omaha, so unbeknown to Seward, I leave on the 8.00 P.M. train for Milestone, Canada.

April 3—Arrive at Milestone 4.00 P.M. Great deal of snow on the ground.

April 4—Visit Milestone school where Mr. Garratt<sup>1</sup> is teacher, call on Mrs. J. R. Bunn. Snow going fast.

April 6—Our cars arrive at Milestone.

April 9—On orders from the Superintendent at Moose Jaw (Mr. Milestone), our cars were placed on the rear of a freight train and moved twelve miles northwest to our location, marked only by milepost 35. There is no siding, spikes are drawn, the rails in turn are swung to one side, and our cars are pushed out on to the prairie, where they will remain until a siding is built. Thus began the town of Wilcox. And here, near the railway tracks our tent, 9 x 12 feet, is pitched.

April 10—Seward sick, stays in tent. Men work at unloading stock, furniture, etc., gang of men at work building siding.

April 12—Seward goes to Regina to buy gasoline so we can use the two-burner stove we brought with us.

April 14—Seward returns 8.00 P.M. He could find only one gallon of gasoline in Regina and the price was 75 cents. The purchase of which would reduce our cash capital of \$2.35 to \$1.60, so I will continue to use the community stove in the bachelors' tent until we can get some lumber.

April 16—Warmer—finish unloading car. I churn two lbs. of butter, gather two eggs. While doing my work, a handcar with two men aboard arrived, and seeing our tent, came over. One of them proved to be R. H. Williams of Regina. He enquired what was going on. I told him it was a new colony of homesteaders just arrived to start a new town. When he found I was the only woman in the colony, he insisted I should accompany him to Regina and stay at their home until we had become settled, but I refused, feeling that if the colony ever needed the help of a woman it was now. Mr. Williams is a lumber dealer and was in search of locations for lumber yards. He waited until Seward returned from the homestead. After a short conversation, he promised to have two cars of lumber, our greatest need, diverted to Wilcox siding, if Seward would look after them for him. This was agreed to.

April 19—Raining. Surveyors arrive to lay out the townsite of Wilcox, named in honor of "Bert" Wilcox, train dispatcher at Moose Jaw.

April 20—Seward's 37th birthday. Rain, snow and sleet. Men put stock back

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Garrat was the first teacher of Milestone (1902) and is the author of *History of Milestone*, reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

in car for protection. By 5.00 P.M. snow is six inches deep, turning into a blizzard, and to the delight of everyone the first car of lumber arrives.

*April 21*—Awoke this morning to find everything under huge drifts of snow—furniture, chickens, and my greatest pride, my new cook stove.

*April 22*—The lumber having arrived, Seward builds a shed for my cook stove. Three sides and a leaky roof, not much protection from the variable winds and rain.

*April 25*—Men haul lumber to farm and begin work on our shack, 12 x 14 feet. Mrs. Geesen and Mrs. Konieczney arrived.

*April 26*—Surveyors found it necessary to move “My Kitchen,” as the location of one of their corner stakes came underneath the floor.

*April 29*—Surveyors finish laying out the townsite, and the Village of Wilcox is born. Churn 2 lbs. of butter, gather 8 eggs,—our income is improving.

*May 2*—Cloudy and windy, everything wet. We pack up and move to the farm—two miles. Men drive the loads—I walk. Have dinner, the first meal in our new shack. Begins to rain—keeps it up all day. Will return to siding tomorrow for the tent, buggy, and pigs.

*May 3*—Bake bread for ourselves and the Swedes. Seward and I build the pig pen and put fence around the hay stack.

*May 8*—Cold and dreary. Commence breaking prairie today. Owing to the lack of horse power, oxen are more generally used, as feed is scarce and oxen can subsist better on grass.

*May 9*—Cold and snowing—men spent most of the day trying to protect the stock, and later fixed the roof and sides of shack.

*May 17*—There has descended upon us, like a bolt from a clear sky, the *plague* of pioneers—*Mosquitoes*. Never before has anything equalled it. There has been an absence of prairie fires for a number of years causing a heavy growth of old grass, this with the present rains provide ideal conditions for these demons of torture, which cover the horses so completely it is impossible to tell, at a distance, the color of the animals. We are compelled to keep a continuous smudge for the stock. As for ourselves, we have been compelled to cover the shacks with tar paper, fill all the crevices with mud and wear veils of netting at all hours. They relent somewhat from two to four in the morning and that is the only time we can work the horses in the field. *All our breaking is being done by moonlight.*

*May 19*—Gloomy, cold morning, get up 3.00 A.M. Seward and Jim go to Milestone about 6.00 A.M. begins to rain, rains hard all the P.M. I am alone all day and do the chores at night. Men get home 7.30 P.M. They sold my eggs for 80 cents, and brought me a butter bowl for 50 cents and 25 cents' worth of muslin.

*June 6*—Plant first garden—radishes, onions, lettuce, peas, beans, cucumbers, sweet corn, cannas, and sweet peas.

*June 17*—First chickens hatched—hen was set May 27.

*June 25*—Today our Post Office was established, the first mail bag delivered from the train and Wilcox takes on the dignity of a town. Henry Scheibel has been appointed Postmaster.

*June 28*—Our first experience with Canadian cut worms—took most of our garden last night.

*July 2*—Seward goes to Rouleau for load of coal, the horses give out, have to

leave the load, on the prairie, will go after it tomorrow. There is no trail. I hang the lantern on the barn to guide him home.

*July 3*—Rains all night, tent leaks, Seward and I take our bed into the shack.

*July 10*—Hot day, men work all day building our cave, bake bread for the Swedes.

*July 14*—Began making hay today. Owing to the absence of fires, the growth of "prairie wool" is heavy and will yield a big crop. We have also solved the problem of what to do with our surplus furniture and piano—which we were foolish enough to bring with us. We put boards in the bottom of one of the stacks, on top of these the furniture and piano, and over all stacked the hay. The stacking was done by a neighbor, "Otto, the Swede" who claimed to be an expert, a claim he justly deserves, but, he built the stack so high, when finished, there was no way for him to get down. We took a 100-foot rope, threw it over the stack, we held one end while Otto was to take hold of the other and let himself down on the opposite side. We waited for the pull on the rope but it never came. Presently, Otto came staggering around the stack, his face as white as death. When we asked him how he got down, he replied: "By yiminy, I missed the rope!" Fortunately he landed on a soft pile of hay.

*July 26*—The first native, Francis Geesen, was born in the store at Wilcox. Our railroad has not seen very active service for many years and it is almost obliterated by grass and weeds. When the wind blows the grass over the rails, the wheels crush it, and makes it impossible to move a freight train. One train has remained at Wilcox all day, today, waiting for the wind to subside.

*August 9*—Coronation Day—cold and raining. Seward and Jim put legs on a bed spring to be used for Jim's bed.

*August 10*—Very cold day—Seward shoots four ducks last night, I cook them for our dinner today. A luxury.

*August 14*—We eat supper out of doors. Seward goes down for our mail, brings me a pair of shoes, a pair of rubber boots, also some soap and meat.

*August 16*—Very hot day—at one o'clock in the night Seward is taken very sick. Jim rides one of the work horses to Milestone, 15 miles for the doctor—I hang out the lantern so he won't get lost—the Doctor comes on the morning train, Jim drives him back after dinner. Geesen and Jake come to inquire after Seward.

*August 17*—Seward still in bed all day.

*August 18*—Seward goes to Buck Lake. Idze and his family get lost last night, and land at Otto's, he guides them home and stays all night. It was very dark.

*August 22*—The duck season opens tomorrow, Jim goes to town for some shells, Otto comes over, stays all night so they can get an early start in the morning.

*August 23*—Get up at 2 a.m. and get the men started for the creek. I go back to bed and sleep until 8 a.m., do my chores and Saturday scrubbing. The men get home at 5.30 p.m. with 115 ducks. Otto stays for supper.

*August 24*—Otto comes over and we pick the ducks, dress them, and salt them down for winter.

*August 29*—Frost ruins what the cutworms left of our garden and flowers.

*September 4*—Seward hauls a load of old ties from the railroad for fuel.

*September 5*—Wind blows all last night, and a perfect gale today—still blowing at 8 p.m. J. M. Young of Regina is here for dinner and supper, leaves 6 p.m. Mr. Young says this is the strongest wind he has ever witnessed in Canada.

*September 6*—Wind blows again today—Seward and I cut oats in a.m. and stook in p.m. Men go for load of old ties for fuel—we get bill from the doctor, \$12.00 for one call.

*September 18*—Our slough goes dry. I take team and two barrels on a stone boat and go three miles for water.

*September 23*—Otto sends over some apples which I stew and make eight glasses of jelly. In the evening he brings over some potatoes.

*September 24*—Very smoky morning, Jim goes for water. Seward drives to the store, comes home with a sick headache and goes to bed. I iron, about 4 p.m. Seward gets up, he and Jim burn off our fire guard. Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Bunn drive over from Milestone. Mr. Bunn said prairie fires were doing great damage south of Milestone. Jim finished coal house, and covers the cave.

*September 28*—Otto comes over and stays until evening, gets lost going home, and wanders back to our place near midnight.

*October 1*—Seward begins foundation for our house, the first to be built in the district. It will take a long time, as we can only buy the lumber a little at a time, and Seward and I will have to do all the work, with what help we get from the neighbors. It will not be finished until next year.

*October 11*—Men finish building the sod chicken house today.

*October 20*—The well drilling machine, which arrived two days ago, is erected, and the man (Sam Kennedy) begins drilling for water.

*October 21*—Bright beautiful morning. Otto is hauling water with his oxen from a slough 5 miles from his homestead, he has only a stone boat and one barrel. He drives over, waters his oxen in the slough, fills the barrel, hauls it home over the hummocks, gets home in late afternoon. The weather is very warm, and the oxen nearly exhausted, drink up what is left in the barrel. He repeats this every day, says he has no time to do anything else.

*November 8*—Men build our cow shed, constructed by nailing willows to posts set in the ground, the sides banked to the top with horse manure and the roof covered with hay.

*November 19*—Men build a furnace to melt snow for the cows—constructed of sod with a vat—similar to those used to boil maple sugar—on top, and will be heated with old ties as fuel.

*November 22*—The drill is down 290 feet, but no signs of water. I fix up my new chicken house in readiness for winter.

*December 5*— $27^{\circ}$  below. Seward hauls water from Moose Jaw Creek, six miles distant.

*December 7*—A blizzard rages all day—do the chores and in the evening put paper on the inside of the shack, which is constructed of only one thickness of shiplap lumber and the heat from the cook stoves increases the size of the cracks every day; if it keeps on, it will soon be all cracks. With the stove and bed there is so little room left, we hang the chairs on spikes driven into the beams.

*December 24*— $38^{\circ}$  below. The first car of coal arrives at Wilcox—a welcomed Christmas present.

*December 25*—Our first Christmas in Canada. Seward hauls coal—I make candy in the evening.

*To be continued in the next issue.*

## Place Names

These names have been selected as given in memory of people or incidents connected with medical history.

**BEAUBIER.** In the autumn of 1918, Eleanor Beaubier, daughter of Lt. Col. D. W. Beaubier of Brandon, arrived in a rural district in the south of the province to teach school. When the influenza epidemic swept the community late in the fall, Miss Beaubier closed the school, went nursing through the district, and finally died herself of the disease. When the railway came in 1927, the people of the district named the station in her honour.

**CAVELL.** Originally Coblenz, the name of the village was changed during World War I, when prejudice against anything German was at its height. On March 28, 1916, it was officially gazetted Cavell in honour of Edith Cavell, famous English war nurse.

**GRAVELBOURG.** Probably named after Abbé A. J. Gravel. The files of the Geographic Board of Canada state that the town was named after Dr. Joseph Henri A. Gravel, a brother of the Abbé. This is almost certainly a mistake, as the only Gravel in the district when the Post Office was named in 1907 seems to have been the Abbé, one of the promoters of the French settlement.

**MIDALE.** This name is derived from that of Dr. R. M. Mitchell and Dr. Dale, first agent of the townsite. When Dr. Mitchell opened his practice at Weyburn about 1900, he was the only doctor on the Soo Line, and consequently served a large area. He was prominent among those who broke down the prejudice against a region formerly considered too dry to farm. Dr. Mitchell represented Weyburn constituency in the Saskatchewan legislature from 1908 to 1919. In 1919 he was appointed superintendent of the provincial mental hospital at Weyburn.

**RODDICK.** Not far from where the first battle of the Saskatchewan rebellion of 1885 was fought is a siding named in honour of the deputy surgeon-general of the Canadian expedition, Dr. T. G. Roddick. He established a field hospital at Saskatoon, requisitioning the three largest houses in the tiny settlement for that purpose. Dr. Roddick later became Dean of Medicine at McGill University. He served as president of the Canadian Medical Association, and also the British Medical Association, being the first Canadian to hold the latter office.

**SEDLEY.** About 1906 Dr. R. J. Blanchard named the village in honour of his brother, a prominent Winnipeg lawyer, who had died of typhoid fever, March 7, 1886. Sedley Blanchard had been the prime mover in the organizing and building of the Winnipeg General Hospital.

**SHIPMAN.** Said to have been named after Dr. Shipman or Chipman of Montreal.

**TESSIER.** Dr. W. O. Tessier opened a practice along the Bone Trail about 1904 when the area was sparsely settled and the need of a doctor was great. Dr. Tessier was refused admission to the College of Physicians and Surgeons because he had attended medical college only two years instead of four. However, he had practiced medicine for seventeen years in Minnesota. A petition from the people of the area brought the matter to the attention of the provincial legislature in 1908. The discussion in the legislature and the press centred on whether professional standards or the needs of the pioneer areas for some sort of medical service were the more important consideration. Tessier post office was opened on June 1, 1906.

REVIEW ARTICLE

## General Middleton's Account of the Suppression of the North-West Rebellion, 1885

THE rebellion of 1885 was the most dramatic episode in the history of the North-West Territories. It was the last serious effort on the part of the aboriginal peoples of the plains, the métis and the Indians, to withstand the inexorable westward advance of the white men and their sedentary civilization. Bishop Grandin, writing in 1887, placed his finger on the underlying cause of the rising when he wrote: "The métis . . . have suffered greatly from the changes which have come to their country. They were not sufficiently prepared to meet that civilization which burst suddenly upon them . . . that is the whole explanation of the civil war."

In addition to its historical-sociological interest, the North West Rebellion is also of interest to the student of Canadian military history, for the suppression of the métis and Indian risings was carried out entirely by the Canadian militia. It was the first major military effort on the part of the new Dominion after the withdrawal of the British regulars in 1870-71. The military force which Wolseley had led over the Dawson route by wagon, foot and canoe in 1870 had been composed both of specially enlisted Canadian volunteers and British regulars; the force commanded by Middleton in 1885 was entirely composed of Canadian militiamen, permanent force and volunteer.

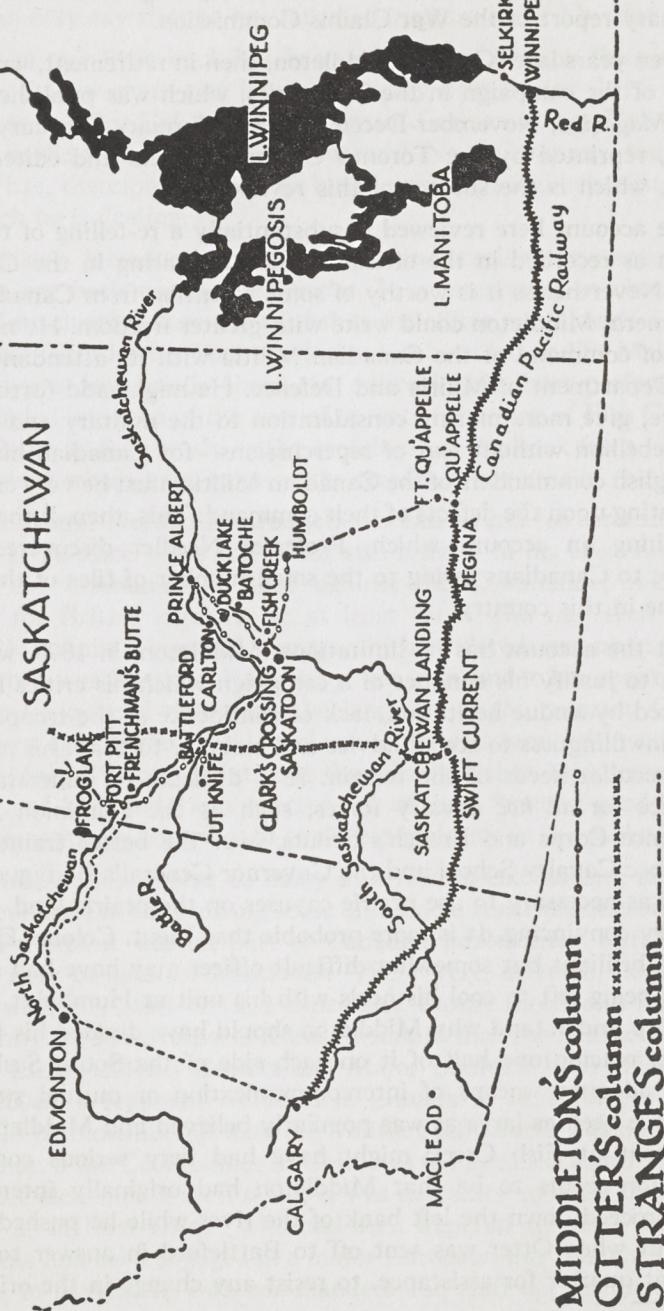
But the most striking difference between 1870 and 1885 from the military standpoint is not to be found in the composition of the armed forces participating; it is to be found in the great improvement in communications as a result of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1870 Wolseley's men, using methods of transportation not greatly dissimilar from those used by Iberville in the seventeenth century, took over three months to reach Red River from Collingwood. In 1885 troops and artillery were rushed to the plains in less than one week from the receipt of mobilization orders, despite the existence of several gaps in the railway line along the north shore of Lake Superior. And before the rebellion was over troops were making the entire journey by train. By the end of 1885 the line had been completed to the Pacific coast, and it was henceforth possible to make the military resources of eastern and central Canada available at short notice for the maintenance of order on the prairies or for the defence of the west coast against aggression.

In May 1886 the Hon. Adolphe Caron, Minister of Militia and Defence, presented to parliament an official report upon the campaign in the North West Territories. This document, entitled a "Report upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories and Matters in Connection Therewith, in 1885," was published in the *Canada, Sessional Papers* of that year. It contained the despatches of the Major General Commanding the Militia, General Frederick Middleton, and reports from subordinate commanders, including Lieut. Colonel

# AREA OF MILITARY OPERATIONS in the NORTHWEST REBELLION OF 1885

MANITOBA

ALBERTA



Reprinted from *Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories*.

Otter, Commanding the Battleford column; Major General Strange, Commanding the Alberta column; Major Watson, Commanding the Yorkton company; Lieut. Colonel MacPherson, Director of Stores; Surgeon General Bergin; and the preliminary report of the War Claims Commission.

Seven years later General Middleton, then in retirement, wrote an unofficial account of the campaign in the Territories, which was published in the *United Service Magazine*, November-December 1893, January-February 1894. It is this account, reprinted by the Toronto University Press and edited by Dr. G. H. Needler, which is the subject of this review.<sup>1</sup>

The account here reviewed is substantially a re-telling of the events of the rebellion as recorded in the official version appearing in the *Canada, Sessional Papers*. Nevertheless it is worthy of some attention from Canadian students. In 1893 General Middleton could write with greater freedom. He no longer had the burden of command of the Canadian Militia with its attendant responsibilities to the Department of Militia and Defence. He might add further details to his narrative, give more mature consideration to the military and political aspects of the rebellion without fear of repercussions—for Canadian history has shown that English commanders of the Canadian Militia must be very circumspect when commenting upon the defects of their command. This, then, is the justification for republishing an account which, Professor Needler discovered, is not easily available to Canadians owing to the small number of files of the *United Service Magazine* in this country.

But the account has its limitations. Middleton, in 1893, was trying partly at least, to justify his conduct of a campaign which his critics have condemned as marked by undue hesitation, lack of confidence in the troops under his command, unwillingness to accept advice and inability to adapt his military measures to the peculiar needs of the terrain. It is difficult to understand Middleton's preference for *ad hoc* cavalry forces, such as the Dominion Land Surveyors Intelligence Corps and French's Scouts, over the better trained units such as the Quebec Cavalry School and the Governor General's Bodyguard. His apology that it was necessary to use prairie cayuses on the prairie land (p. 10) does not seem very convincing. It is more probable that Lieut. Colonel Denison's reputation as a brilliant but somewhat difficult officer may have had something to do with his being left to cool his heels with his unit at Humboldt. It is even more difficult to understand why Middleton should have divided his force at Clarke's Crossing, placing one half of it on each side of the South Saskatchewan river without adequate means of intercommunication or mutual support. Had the métis force been as large as was popularly believed and Middleton reported, the engagement at Fish Creek might have had very serious consequences. The explanation seems to be that Middleton had originally intended that Otter should proceed down the left bank of the river while he pushed down the right bank; but when Otter was sent off to Battleford in answer to urgent appeals from that quarter for assistance, to resist any change in the original plan, even

<sup>1</sup> *Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories of Canada, 1885*, by General Sir Fred Middleton. Edited with introduction by G. H. Needler, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948, Pp. xix, 80. \$2.50.

when it meant further weakening an already reduced force, indicates a rigidity of mind characteristic only of the second rate commander. If Middleton hoped to add to his military stature by publishing this later account of the North West campaign, we can only say that he has failed to increase it even by one cubit.

The editing of this little book has been a labour of love on the part of an old Riel veteran. Doctor or, to give him his military title, Major G. H. Needler, formerly professor and head of the department of German at the University of Toronto, served in the 1885 campaign as a corporal, No. 4 Company, the Queen's Own Rifles. He has, therefore, knowledge based upon personal experience of the events with which he is dealing.

Major Needler's introduction and critical and explanatory notes at the end of the book are both useful and concise. It is interesting to observe that nowhere in the introduction does one read that the editor was himself a member of the North West Field Force. That revelation has been left to Dr. Malcolm W. Wallace who gives a few details about the editor in his short preface. Major Needler has included one map of the area of operations; a map of Fish Creek and Batoche would have added greatly to the usefulness of the book from the standpoint of the student whose knowledge of the terrain is not that of the editor.

One point in Major Needler's introduction seems to call for comment. Even after a lapse of sixty-three years the editor still reflects in his observations the resentments of the militiaman of 1885 against the Commander-in-Chief for "his preference for British regulars, or at least those who had seen imperial service" (p. xvii). Despite a personal courage which bordered even upon rashness, General Middleton was heartily disliked by the men under his command. He could not unbend; he could not speak the language of the common Canadian soldier. In his own account he frankly welcomed the assistance of "men of good birth" (p. 11). Major Needler points out that the fact that Middleton and his Chief of Staff, Lord Melgund, both selected one of these "men of good birth" as his orderly officer, scarcely contributed to their popularity in the ranks.

Such resentment may appear to many as a relic of colonialism; to others it may appear as evidence of the growing sense of national consciousness on the part of Canadians. Perhaps it was all part of Canada's adolescence. Surely at this date something may be said for Middleton. There were, after all, no Canadian militia officers with any staff or field experience except those who had served in the British army. In some respects it was fortunate that the militia did possess a few men like Lieut. Colonel Grasett and Major Boulton, both of whom had served in the 100th, a regiment recruited in Canada in 1858 for the Imperial service. It should be remembered that the Militia Staff course was not initiated until 1899 and that, if the Commander-in-Chief was to have men about him understanding even the elements of staff work, it was necessary to draw upon British regular officers or at least those "who had seen imperial service." It was not until after Canada had been engaged in a major European war that the Canadian militia was able to provide its own commanders and staff appointments.

One word of criticism. The bibliographical note is too short to be of any real value. It makes no attempt to list the secondary accounts of the rebellion

available in most libraries. This is not particularly serious, for there are few general histories of Canada which do not contain some reference, however brief and inaccurate, to the North-West Rebellion; what is more serious from the standpoint of the student—and it is to the student that this book must appeal, for the number of Riel veterans for whom it will rekindle old memories is now very small—is the omission of reference to the manuscript sources available in the Public Archives in Ottawa. The bibliographical note also omits several printed accounts by participants, particularly those published in French, such as Charles R. Daoust's *Cent vingt jours de service actif* (Montreal, 1886). Military history invariably suffers from one-sidedness, deliberate in some instances and unavoidable in others, and Middleton's story needs the corrective supplied by métis accounts of the rising such as *Le récit de Gabriel Dumont* published in Ouimet's *La vérité sur la question métisse* in 1889. This, surely, should appear in any bibliographical note. However, it should be pointed out that Major Needler has mentioned several manuscript diaries in private hands with which this reviewer was wholly unacquainted. The volume, unfortunately, has no index.

Despite these strictures Major Needler and the University of Toronto Press are to be commended for making this little volume available to Canadians. It is a useful source book, both to those interested in Canadian military history and to those who study the "heroic" period of western Canadian history. It will serve a useful purpose too, in reminding us that the Canadian militia, with all its weaknesses, played an important part in our national development. The militiaman, who in 1885 volunteered for service on the prairies, was the forerunner of the soldier who in 1939 volunteered for service in Europe; more than one Canadian infantry unit in the First Canadian Army carried on its standard the battle honour "North West Canada 1885."

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

## Book Reviews

**LEAVES FROM THE LIFE OF A PIONEER:** Being the Autobiography of Sometime Senator Emil Julius Meilicke. Vancouver: Privately printed for Hugo Meilicke by The Wrigley Printing Co., Ltd., with editorial notes [by A. S. Morton], [1948]. Pp. x, 163, plates, maps.

**L**EAVES FROM THE LIFE OF A PIONEER is more than just another autobiography of another pioneer. It records one of the phenomena of western settlement, the rise of a professional pioneer class. If the mental and economic hazards of the first move are overcome, the second is easier and more profitable. Settling, improving, selling, and moving take on professional techniques. The land underfoot is spurned for the better land beyond.

The author of this autobiography, Emil Julius Meilicke, lived in three countries, held high public office in two, followed the receding frontier from Minnesota west, and west again, and north into Saskatchewan. He was born in Germany in 1852, of a family which generations earlier had pioneered in Prussia. The Meilicke family emigrated to America in 1866. After a succession of moves, E. J. Meilicke set up on his own at Windom, Minnesota. He rose to prominence in The Grange and was elected to the state legislature as House representative and later as senator for the Populist party. In the legislature he was an outspoken champion of farmers' interests. The lure of frontier land drew him again, and he moved to the Dundurn area in the Canadian West. He was again called to public service, this time as chairman of a public commission. In 1922, in the autumn of his life, he moved west again, to Vancouver.

The third part of this work has to do with E. J. Meilicke's life in Western Canada. He came to the Dundurn area in 1901 to look over the land. By the simple expedient of testing with domestic vinegar, Mr. Meilicke proved that the "alkali" of Dundurn was "warm" marl. Before publicizing this knowledge he secured an option on 20,000 acres of land from the Temperance Colonization Society. This land, with the homestead sections adjoining, was settled in 1902 by families from Minnesota who accepted Meilicke's judgment and followed him to Canada. Mr. Meilicke continued to play an important role in the district and beyond. He accepted Canadian institutions loyally, if not uncritically, and was remarkable for the sanity of his approach to the difficult German-Canadian problem during the war of 1914-8.

*Leaves from the Life of a Pioneer* was written in 1933, and edited by Dr. A. S. Morton, an authority on early western history. His notes and comments give an historical background to the book and serve to substantiate the author's conclusions. Dr. Morton gives convincing proof that Meilicke was indeed the moving spirit in the early settlement of the Dundurn area by wheat farmers. The three maps showing the districts where the Meilickes lived in Prussia, Minnesota, and Saskatchewan are welcome additions, though it is a pity that they were not dated. The book itself is a worthwhile contribution to the literature of pioneering.

JOHN H. ARCHER

THE STONE AGE ON THE PRAIRIES. *By W. J. Orchard.* Regina and Toronto: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co., Ltd., 1942. Pp. 168. \$1.75.

KITCHEN MIDDENS (PREHISTORIC CAMPSPACES). *By W. J. Orchard.* Regina and Toronto: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co., Ltd., 1946. Pp. 123. \$1.75.

FOR forty years W. J. Orchard followed the traces of early man on our western prairies, and his recent passing has turned the attention of many to his favourite hobby and the books he wrote on it. Mr. Orchard was born in London, England, on March 11, 1869, and died in Regina on November 20, 1948. As a small child he was brought to Newcastle, Ontario, and later attended public school in Bowmanville, model school in Port Hope, and normal school in Ottawa. In 1898 he came west to teach school at Indian Head, and in 1907 took up farming at Tregarva, and finally retired to make his home in Regina upon the death of his wife thirty years later.

As a boy he liked to gather rare plants, Indian relics, and peculiar stones. Thus began a hobby which, used first in his work as a teacher, later developed into a serious attempt to assemble a complete, representative collection of all the stone age relics of the prairies. The plains of southern Saskatchewan have been rich in these relics, and the dry, windblown 'thirties were exceptionally good years for collectors. Mr. Orchard combined his activities as a prominent United Church layman and Farmers' Movement enthusiast with relic collecting. Living only fourteen miles from Regina, and meeting other interested amateurs, he was able to organize and found with them, in 1934, an archaeological society, of which he held the presidency from 1934 to 1939 and the honorary presidency until his death.

It was in 1939 that Mr. Orchard began to prepare *The Stone Age on the Prairies*, designed as an elementary text book. Written in conversational style, it has seventy-eight pages of text and seventy-six pages of illustrations, most of which are photographs of his own relic collection, now permanently housed in the provincial museum in Regina. The first part of the book deals with artifacts which the author classifies as neolithic: spearheads, arrow points, picks, hoes, axes, pestles, mortars, platters, hammers, knives, scrapers, celts, awls, and bone tools are shown. Other artifacts follow, described as lamps, sickles, and spoke-shaves. The probable uses of all of these articles are described, in each case the argument moving from the need to the tool. An interesting assortment of pottery fragments is shown and accurately described; but one wonders somewhat about remarks as to manufacture. In the second part, the writer, convinced that the stone age civilization on this continent is much more ancient than has commonly been believed, and intrigued by the resemblance between many prairie artifacts and classified European examples, proceeds to show systematically prairie counterparts of all the classifications from Chellean down to Azilian, although with some doubts about the latter group. The book closes with reference to human remains, pipes, and petroglyphs.

The author affirms that there is no doubt that paleolithic man was found here and refutes the statement that our artifacts show no patination. Having

developed a theory, he submits some rather fantastic supporting theories and tends to interpret all finds to prove it. Recent scientific evidence tends to substantiate the author in his convictions and to push back the age limit of known human habitation on the prairies. But one senses the lack of trained scientific approach and knowledge, particularly toward the close of the book, when human skeletal remains, the origins of man, and land movements are considered. For those unfamiliar with the archaeology of the Canadian prairies this book has definite value as an introduction, and for amateur collectors and rural teachers whose pupils bring in finds, this is the best available source book for comparison and identification purposes, containing as it does photographs of over 425 prairie artifacts, infinitely varied in design and material.

One short chapter in *The Stone Age on the Prairies* described kitchen middens, and, as exploration in the Saskatchewan middens proceeded, the chapter allowed of expansion. This material, together with descriptions of the Great Fraser and Danish middens and of the Nova Scotian, Japanese and Scottish shell heaps, makes up the book *Kitchen Middens* (similar in format to the earlier book). Amateur collectors will be interested to hear how the Saskatchewan middens were found, and to see the one hundred illustrations of midden relics and read the speculations as to their uses. The straightforward descriptive style here will appeal to readers more than the semi-scientific passages bristling with nomenclature. The writer states that he records the Saskatchewan midden story lest it be lost to history. Other amateurs might emulate this example.

Even as this kindly, friendly man never failed to inspire others as he talked with them, so in his writing he inspires ordinary people to seek, to appreciate, and to record the evidence which lies about them on the prairies. The Orchard Collection of archaeological relics is a fitting memorial to him, and his books are a significant contribution to the record of early man on the western plains.

JESSIE CALDWELL

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HISTORY OF MILESTONE, 1893-1910. By A. W. Garratt. [Milestone: The author, 1946.] Pp. 129, illus. \$2.00.

MILESTONE's history began with the building of the Soo line in 1893, but for six years it consisted of a solitary building—the station. Although a few settlers were straggling in after 1898, the community was really launched with the American invasion of 1901. In that year the Canadian American Land Company purchased 200,000 acres along the Soo line. In the *History of Milestone* Mr. Garratt records the organizing of the school district, the coming of churches, the opening of new businesses in the growing urban centre. This was an era of rapid expansion, with new people arriving each year to open businesses and erect shops and dwellings. In 1903 Milestone was organized as a village, and three years later incorporated as a town.

The unique feature of the history of the town was the dispute between the townsmen and J. E. Martin, the townsite owner. The latter did not wish the town

to grow up in the scattered and haphazard fashion of prairie villages; he envisaged an orderly compact plan which would ensure symmetry and beauty in the Milestone of the future. He soon came into conflict with individualistic entrepreneurs who wanted to erect their shops and dwellings where they chose, notably one J. R. Bunn, a disciple of Henry George, the American exponent of the single tax system. The Bunn party succeeded in imposing the single tax system on the village. This land tax did not yield enough revenue to meet the village's commitments, but it certainly embarrassed the enemy. From 1904 to 1906 he paid over fifty per cent of the total tax levy; in 1908 his taxes amounted to \$2135. Looking back after forty years Mr. Garratt concedes that it was a good fight, but that Milestone today would be a more beautiful town if the sons of liberty could have submitted to a few building and zoning regulations.

The history of Milestone is treated chronologically. This method has some advantages in recording the growth of a small community for a short period of time, but annals do not enable the historian to analyze and point out the significance to his generation of events in the past. For instance, there was a great influx of Americans into the town and vicinity beginning in 1902. What effect, if any, did their "Americanism" have on the organization and policies of local institutions? Another example is the churches. We are told in what year each denomination organized services and built a church, but there is no attempt to relate their work as a whole to the life of the community. A good history is usually chronological within a topical framework.

The list of the first homesteaders (p. 13-15), giving the date they filed on their land and their locations, is valuable statistical material. If it could have been charted on a township plan, it would have offered, even to the casual reader, a picture of how the settlement of Milestone grew.<sup>1</sup>

BRUCE PEEL

<sup>1</sup> For those interested in writing local history, D. D. Parker's *Local History: how to gather it, write it, and publish it* (published by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, price \$1.00) is a useful guide.

## Notes and Correspondence

THE meeting of the Canadian Medical Association convention in Saskatchewan next month for the first time in nearly a quarter of a century suggested to the editorial committee the publication of an issue largely devoted to medical history. It is hoped that this issue will prove interesting to our subscribers and that it will win new readers for *SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY* among visitors to the province.

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A few communications have been received on the subject of place names. Mrs. Winnifred Taylor of Paynton gives the following information about the naming of that place:

My father, the late Capt. A. M. Black . . . came out from Nottingham with the Barr Colonists. After going as far as Lloydminster, he returned to Peter Paynter's place, and upon his advice settled on a homestead four miles directly north of the Paynter's home. We moved to our homestead June 3, 1903. . . . That summer my father applied for a post office and sent in the name Paynton, after our beloved old-timer and friend to all newcomers. . . . Our home became the first Paynton P.O. with my mother as postmistress. . . . In 1905 the C.N.R. railroad was built one-half mile south . . . the C.N.R. took the name of the post office and approved the same for the townsite. . . . I was also a first pupil of the Paynton school, built that year 1905 and opened March 19, 1906. . . .

We are grateful to Mr. Anthony J. Hruska of Gerald for these details on the naming of Esterhazy:

Entry of the name of Duke Paul Esterhazy into the Hungarian treason trials brought to mind the village 110 miles east of Regina which is named after an ancestor. The ancestor, Count Paul-Oscar Esterhazy, visited the United States in the 1880's to examine the welfare of Hungarian immigrants. Finding much poverty among those who had settled in the eastern United States, he launched a movement to Canada. About thirty-five families were brought to homesteads north-east of Minnedosa, Man., while a second group settled near Whitewood, Sask. The new Saskatchewan townsite was named Esterhazy. Most of the original settlers drifted back to the United States, but they were replaced by immigrants direct from Hungary. Many of the old family names introduced into the district when the old Count first started a settlement here are still prominent in the district.

Miss G. Huntoon of Montreal would like to know the circumstances surrounding the naming of Huntoon, Sask. Can any reader supply this information?

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Interest continues in the article, "On the Old Saskatchewan Trail" (*SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY*, May 1948). Unfortunately, limitations of space do not permit the printing of all the interesting letters which have been sent to us. The following comment by Mr. A. J. Loveridge of Grenfell, who travelled the trail in the early 'eighties, is particularly valuable:

. . . I came to Winnipeg in the spring of 1882 from Ontario at the age of nineteen, and in July went out on a survey party, west on the C.P.R. to the end of the track, to Flat Creek, now Oak Lake, in Manitoba where we loaded up two Red River carts and two others with our outfit and provisions, using two oxen, ponies, a cow and buckboard in which the surveyor and his assistant rode, all others walked and led the oxen and ponies. [In a few days we got on to the trail from Fort Ellis to Fort Qu'Appelle which enters the Qu'Appelle Valley north west of here fifteen miles. We crossed the river at what is now Ellisboro, which was high at that time, taking our carts, etc., over on a raft operated by half breeds living in a log house close by, and our horses, oxen, and cow swam over. We picked up three half breeds to go with us at the Roman Catholic Mission at LeBret, stopped at the Fort for a day, thence on a trail northward to the north end of Long Lake. While on that trail we overtook and joined a band of freighters for a day. . . . I counted ninety carts strung out on that trail. Then we struck across over the open prairie without a trail to where we were to survey, in the vicinity of where Dundurn now is, where we surveyed many townships. . . . Returning, we struck across the open prairie about one hundred miles easterly to Touchwood Hills to the trading post, thence south on a trail to Fort Qu'Appelle, where we disbanded and some of us went twenty miles further south to Qu'Appelle Station or Troy as it was also called and took train for Winnipeg. The railway had been built westward as far as Moose Jaw or further during the summer and fall. Our trip to our work was three hundred miles and the return two hundred. The country was full of water that summer.

Two years later, 1884, I homesteaded forty miles north of Wolseley near where Duff now is. An old cart trail crossed my farm which we used to follow for a few years to Fort Qu'Appelle forty miles to a grist mill. That trail joined the Carlton trail east of our place ten miles. In 1889 I followed that east to the junction of the Carlton trail with a yoke of oxen and load of oats to sell at Saltcoats, then end of that railway. . . . From the junction I travelled over the open prairie where the sloughs were all dry, by a compass north easterly to Crescent Lake settlement about twenty miles, and then on a trail to Saltcoats. That became an established trail from then on till the surveyed road allowances were opened up, about the turn of the century. Because of the distance from the railway (forty miles) we moved to a farm one mile south of Grenfell in 1897 and farmed there until retirement twenty years ago. The Carlton Trail was five miles north of my homestead, and we cut hay near it for years. In places there were about twenty ruts—no doubt quite a highway before the railways were built.

*The Naicam Progress* printed in its issue of March 19, 1949, an article by Rev. P. Chrysostom Hoffmann, O.S.B., containing many personal recollections of the author and of others on the subject of Mount Carmel (See SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY, October 1948).

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The *Saskatchewan Medical Quarterly* (published by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Saskatchewan, 415 Birks Building, Saskatoon) is currently printing instalments of the reminiscences of Dr. J. T. MacKay under the title, "Saskatchewan at the turn of the century." In the March Quarterly, Dr. MacKay gives a most entertaining account of travel on the prairies in the early days and of his experiences in treating settlers in the neighbourhood of Allan, Sask.



## *Contributors*

L. H. THOMAS is Acting Provincial Archivist of Saskatchewan.

E. A. McCOURT is Associate Professor of English at the University of Saskatchewan and author of *The Flaming Hour* and *Music at the Close*.

BRUCE PEEL is librarian of the Shortt Library of Canadiana at the University of Saskatchewan.

G. F. G. STANLEY, formerly a member of the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, has recently been appointed to the staff of the Royal Military College, Kingston. He is the author of *The Birth of Western Canada*.

JOHN H. ARCHER received his master's degree from the University of Saskatchewan last year and is the author of *Historic Saskatoon*.

JESSIE CALDWELL has been active in the Archaeological Society and in women's organizations in the province, particularly the Local Council of Women, and has been a member of the Senate of the University of Saskatchewan.

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### *Editorial Note:*

The editorial committee will welcome comments on this issue and suggestions for the future. Articles and illustrations suitable for publication are desired, but contributors should consult the editor before submitting material.

### *Sustaining Subscriptions:*

A sustaining subscription rate at \$5 per year has been established. It is believed that many Saskatchewan residents would be willing to make a larger contribution towards the continuance of this publication, if the opportunity were afforded. We hope for a generous response from our readers.



Saskatchewan.